C.Seligmann & Seligmann E.-G (1909-1910) 1932
F'223 Shilluk F'223

[601] Besides these words descriptive terms are used, formed by the addition of *be* and *ci* (wife), and *jal* (man), to the terms already given. *Be* is used to indicate the wife of a descendant of the *nak*, *ci* for the wife of a commoner. Thus *be wo* or *ci wo* are used for the wife of the *wo* (son the mother), *be ro* or *ci ro* for the wife of the *ro*, cicuala (from *ruo*, a friend) for brother's wife, *jal nyako* for husband of sister's daughter. In speaking of a particular *wo* a man may describe him definitely, thus: *wo jakwongo*, lit. " relative-by-marriage, husband-of-my-father's-sister's-daughter ".

[611] *Wo*—father. The term for father is used to indicate the father and his brothers, and the fathers of all those whom the father calls " father's son ". Thus, *in dwoono* is partilineal, all men of the father's clan and generation are my " father ", all of the grandfather's generation are *kwa*, " grandfather ", while all those of the same generation are *wora*, " father's son ". One might have expected all those of the succeeding generation to be " son "; this, however, is not so. Only a man's own sons are *nitde* (*nwot*); the brother's sons are *wonak*, " sons of the man." The sister's sons (*m.s.*) are *nhu*, the sister's daughters *nyako*; they belong to the clan of their father.

[601] *Maja*—mother. This is an individual term. All those whom the mother calls *wora* are *wa*, and those whom the mother calls *wa* are *kwa*, the word *kwa* in this sense indicating the generation to which a person belongs and not the clan, although it is also used to signify clan or sameness. Children address their grandparents with ceremonial politeness, speaking with head averted. All the children of the mother's *wora* are *wora* and *nyina*. Thus all the men and women of the same generation belonging to the mother's clan are regarded as *wora* except as children of the mother's brother.

[602] *Ma*—mother's sister. The mother's sister is not classed with the mother; she is called *ma*, a word obviously related to *maja*. Her children do not belong to the clan of their mother but to that of her husband, so a man or woman calls the children of his mother's sister *wora*, thus differentiating them from brother and sister, with whom they are usually identified according to the classificatory system.

Mia.—It might be supposed that *mia*, father's brother's wife, was only a dialectical form of the word for mother, and we do not know whether it is used throughout the Shilluk district. We heard it at Fashoda in circumstances when the meaning was quite definite.

2:Seligmann & Seligmann E.-S (1909-1910) 1910
F223 Shilluk F223

The relations from the " in-law " category are equally important from the woman's point of view. She does not call her husband's parents so, but addresses them as though they were her own grandparents; she runs them with respect, hands when she hands anything to her father-in-law, and turns her head away when she speaks, but there is no outlet evidence. One of our married informants had his mother living with him; she had a separate hut to his enclosure, but she and his wife could not together if they wished.

A man calls his son's wife *kwen*, granddaughter; she falls into the category of wives of a classman with whom sexual intercourse is ~~[illegible]~~, and so ~~[illegible]~~ the ceremonial behaviour observed between granddaughters and grandparents is also followed between a man and his son's wife. It has been noted before that a woman uses terms to her husband's relatives that she would use to her own relatives of a generation older, and the custom of consorting with the husband's son and being inherited by him has been suggested as a reason for this.

We have seen that there are certain other women who are treated in the same ceremonial manner as are the *ma*; these are wives of relatives, some, but not all, of whom are classmen (see p. 61). These women fall into sharp contrast with those other women (wives of classmen, the *ma* and the *nwa*) with whom connection is permitted during the life of the husband and who may possibly be inherited after his death.

Young people are free to marry the person of their choice so long as the exogamy is observed and no genealogical relationship can be traced on the mother's side. Every Shilluk youth is interested in the marriage of his sister and of his father's sister's daughter, for he receives cattle from their bride-wealth and without cattle he cannot himself marry; it is true that his father and his father's sister will assist him to collect cattle for his bride-wealth, but how can they get these except from the marriage of their daughters? A father who used his cattle to marry some wives while his own sons remained unmarried would be regarded generally with disfavour. The breaking of a marriage—divorce—causes the return of cattle to the bridegroom, a difficult matter, as though the bride-wealth is paid to one man, the bride's father or brother, it is immediately distributed and may even play its part in another's marriage. Thus a man has every reason to desire his sister's marriage to be stable. Yet, in the rules of behaviour that are customary between persons